

## **Supplementary Information for:**

Rogbeer, K. G., & Pérez, E. (2026). Solidarity as a bridge: Shared discrimination is indirectly associated with voting intentions among People of Color.

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SM.1 reports the full articles used in the control and treatment arms of our shared discrimination manipulation across all samples. SM.2 compares model fit indices between unconstrained and constrained models and present path coefficient estimates for these models. SM.3 reports path estimates after controlling for age, gender, education, and nativity. SM.4 re-estimates our model in our sample of registered voters only. SM.5 re-estimates our model in the sample of participants who successfully passed our manipulation check.

**Pages 1-4:** SM.1 – Shared Discrimination Manipulation

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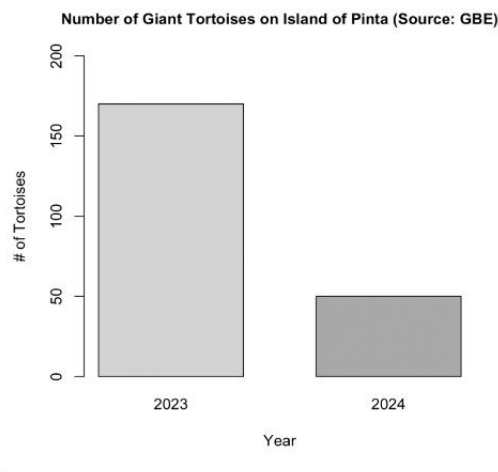
## SM.1 – Shared Discrimination Manipulation

[CONTROL]

### *News Brief: A Tortoise at Risk*

-Associated Press

He's about 70 to 80 years old, and he's been alone for the last 30 years. His name is Lonesome George, and scientists believe he is the last of his subspecies, *Geochelone elephantopus abingdoni*, a giant tortoise found only on the Galápagos island of Pinta. As giant tortoises live about 150 to 200 years, George could still be considered relatively young. Found in 1971, George is now living at the Charles Darwin Research Station on Santa Cruz with other giant tortoises in the station's captive breeding program. Researchers keep George with two female giant tortoises in hopes that he will pass on some of his genes even if this would be a hybrid offspring. So far they've had no luck. "It is hard to say if he is even interested in trying," said Erica Buck of the Charles Darwin Foundation.



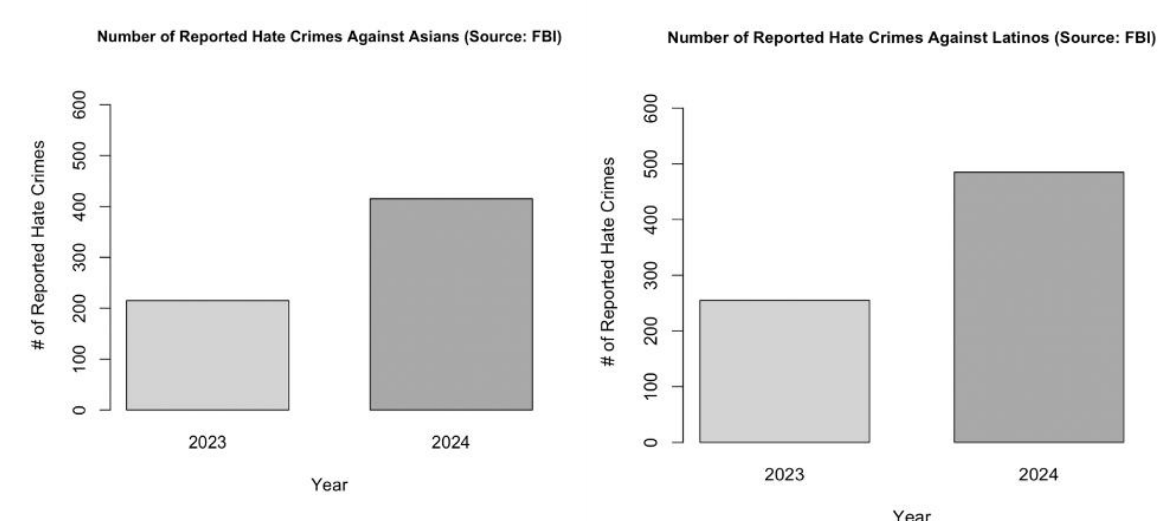
In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, whalers and sealers hunted giant tortoises for their meat and oil, taking advantage of the fact that they could be kept in the holds of the ship for up to a year without food or water. Females were usually taken first because they were smaller and easier to find in the lowland areas during the egg-laying season. Last winter, an independent group of scientists performed a DNA test on George. The scientists determined that George's closest relatives are found on islands far from his home island of Pinta, whereas tortoises on closer islands are more distantly related.

## [TREATMENT: Black Participants]

### *Never Fully American, Always an Outsider: 2024 Continues Highlighting the Decades-Long Exclusion of **Asian and Latino people** in the U.S.*

-Associated Press

For many **Asian and Latino** people, the year 2024 began with a roar, as hate crimes and other public expressions of prejudice toward them increased in cities and towns throughout the United States. Many of these incidents were caught on video, providing yet another vivid reminder that, no matter how long people of color have been in the United States or how much they contribute to this nation's culture, they are still viewed as un-American to various degrees. This increase has been in the making for some time. Figure 1 shows an uptick in reported hate crimes against **Asian and Latino** individuals from 2023 to 2024. This spike is likely under-estimated, since too many victims of hate crimes are too afraid to come forward and report an incident.



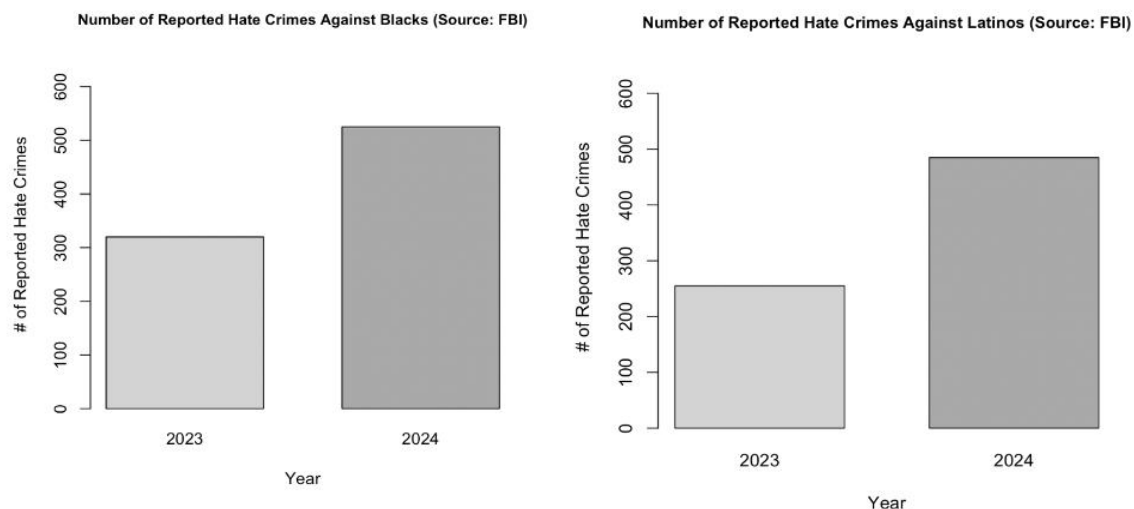
As a recent victim of one of these hate crimes toward **Asian and Latino people** stated (on condition of anonymity): “It’s so scary—and frustrating—that you can give so much of yourself to this country, and yet still be treated like an outsider, even if you and your family have been here for generations.” These words ring true among many **African Americans** throughout the U.S., who have been the targets of discrimination for decades. One lesson of this latest wave of prejudice against people of color is that despite the social, political, and economic diversity of America’s **Asian and Latino** populations, too many Americans continue to see them as “outsiders,” never to be fully and equally included in U.S. society.

## [TREATMENT: Asian Participants]

### *Never Fully American, Always an Outsider: 2024 Continues Highlighting the Decades-Long Exclusion of **Black and Latino** people in the U.S.*

-Associated Press

For many **Black and Latino** people, the year 2024 began with a roar, as hate crimes and other public expressions of prejudice toward them increased in cities and towns throughout the United States. Many of these incidents were caught on video, providing yet another vivid reminder that, no matter how long people of color have been in the United States or how much they contribute to this nation's culture, they are still viewed as un-American to various degrees. This increase has been in the making for some time. Figure 1 shows an uptick in reported hate crimes against **Black and Latino** individuals from 2023 to 2024. This spike is likely under-estimated, since too many victims of hate crimes are too afraid to come forward and report an incident.



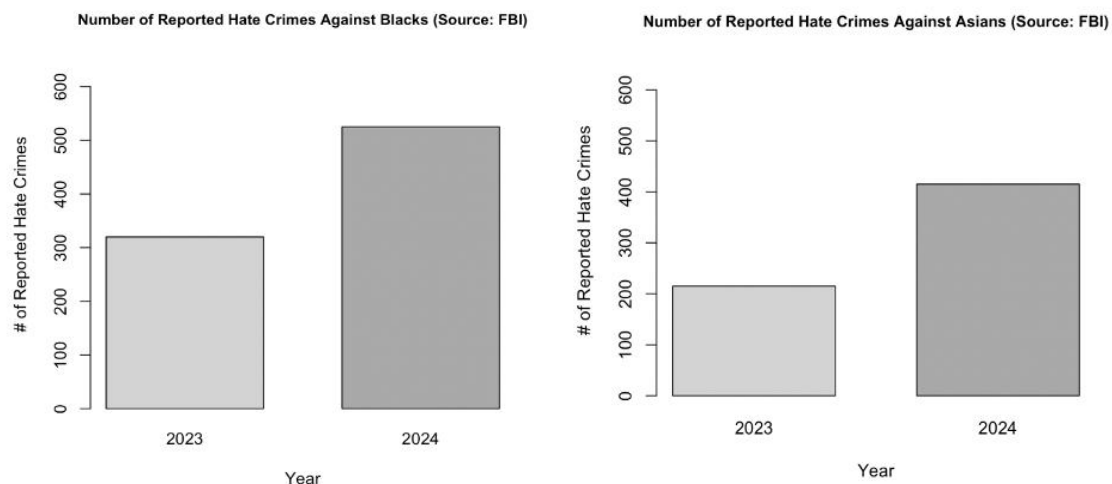
As a recent victim of one of these hate crimes toward **Black and Latino** people stated (on condition of anonymity): “It’s so scary—and frustrating—that you can give so much of yourself to this country, and yet still be treated like an outsider, even if you and your family have been here for generations.” These words ring true among many **Asian Americans** throughout the U.S., who have been the targets of discrimination for decades. One lesson of this latest wave of prejudice against people of color is that despite the social, political, and economic diversity of America’s **Black and Latino** populations, too many Americans continue to see them as “outsiders,” never to be fully and equally included in U.S. society.

## [TREATMENT: Latino Participants]

### *Never Fully American, Always an Outsider: 2024 Continues Highlighting the Decades-Long Exclusion of **Black and Asian people** in the U.S.*

-Associated Press

For many **Black and Asian** people, the year 2024 began with a roar, as hate crimes and other public expressions of prejudice toward them increased in cities and towns throughout the United States. Many of these incidents were caught on video, providing yet another vivid reminder that, no matter how long people of color have been in the United States or how much they contribute to this nation's culture, they are still viewed as un-American to various degrees. This increase has been in the making for some time. Figure 1 shows an uptick in reported hate crimes against **Black and Asian** individuals from 2023 to 2024. This spike is likely under-estimated, since too many victims of hate crimes are too afraid to come forward and report an incident.



As a recent victim of one of these hate crimes toward **Black and Asian people** stated (on condition of anonymity): “It’s so scary—and frustrating—that you can give so much of yourself to this country, and yet still be treated like an outsider, even if you and your family have been here for generations.” These words ring true among many **Latino Americans** throughout the U.S., who have been the targets of discrimination for decades. One lesson of this latest wave of prejudice against people of color is that despite the social, political, and economic diversity of America’s **Black and Asian** populations, too many Americans continue to see them as “outsiders,” never to be fully and equally included in U.S. society.

## SM.2 – Model Fit Comparisons & Differences in Estimates

The ANOVA results revealed a non-significant interaction between shared discrimination and race on solidarity, and both vote intention outcomes. This suggests that an SEM model in which the paths from shared discrimination to the outcomes are constrained to be equal across groups may fit the data better and yield more precise estimates. Accordingly, we compared this partially constrained model to the unconstrained model (Figure 1A) using the DIFFTEST command in Mplus 8.7, which is appropriate for nested models with categorical data. The chi-square difference test indicated no significant difference in model fit between the two models ( $\Delta\chi^2 = 8.22$ ,  $df = 6$ ,  $p = .222$ ), suggesting that the more parsimonious partially constrained model fits the data equally well. This conclusion was supported by other fit indices, which remained relatively stable across models (Table 1).

Next, we compared the partially constrained model to a fully constrained model in which the paths from solidarity to vote intentions were additionally constrained to be equal across racial groups (Figure 1B). This test serves as a litmus assessment of our hypothesis that the association between solidarity and vote intentions is moderated by race and helps determine whether group-specific path estimates warrant closer examination. The chi-square difference test revealed a significant deterioration in model fit when all structural paths were constrained ( $\Delta\chi^2 = 14.51$ ,  $df = 4$ ,  $p = .006$ ), indicating that the solidarity to vote intention paths are significantly moderated by race. Together, these results suggest that the partially constrained model provides the best balance of parsimony and fit and likely offers the most precise parameter estimates.

**Table 1**

*Model Fit Indices when Structural Paths are Unconstrained, Partially Constrained, or Fully Constrained.*

|                   | Unconstrained | Partially Constrained | Fully Constrained |
|-------------------|---------------|-----------------------|-------------------|
| $\chi^2$ ( $df$ ) | 122.73 (64)   | 113.02 (70)           | 131.25 (74)       |
| RMSEA             | .033          | .027                  | .030              |
| CFI               | .981          | .986                  | .982              |
| SRMR              | .028          | .034                  | .037              |

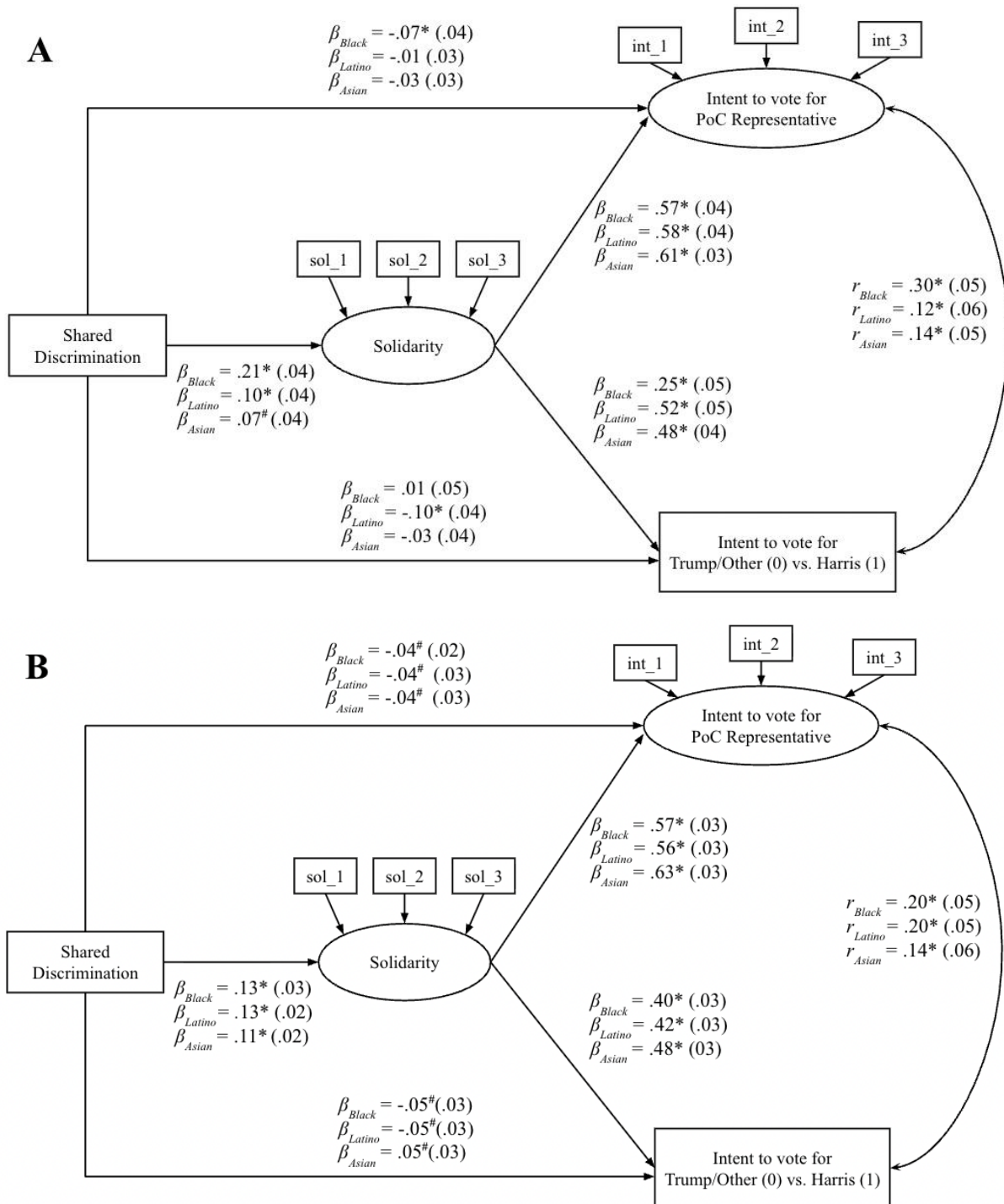
**Table 2**

*Standardized Indirect Effects (IE) and Standard Errors (SE) from the Unconstrained Model*

|        | PoC Representative |               |       | Harris vs. Trump/Other |               |      |
|--------|--------------------|---------------|-------|------------------------|---------------|------|
|        | IE (SE)            | 95% CI        | $p$   | IE (SE)                | 95% CI        | $p$  |
| Black  | .12 (.03)          | [.07, .17]    | <.001 | .05 (.02)              | [.03, .09]    | .001 |
| Latino | .06 (.03)          | [.01, .11]    | .027  | .05 (.02)              | [.01, .10]    | .027 |
| Asian  | .04 (.02)          | [-.001, .091] | .059  | .03 (.02)              | [-.001, .073] | .061 |

**Figure 1**

*Standardized Estimates when Structural Paths are (A) Unconstrained and (B) Constrained*



*Note.*  $*p < .050$ ,  $^#p = .060$ , all tests two-tailed.

### **Differences in Estimated Effects: Unconstrained vs. Partially Constrained Model**

Results from the unconstrained model diverge from those reported in the main manuscript in two key ways. First, we failed to find a significant effect of the shared discrimination manipulation on Asian Americans' solidarity with other people of color (PoC) ( $\beta = .07$ ,  $SE = .04$ ,  $p = .056$ ). Consistent with this pattern, the indirect association between shared discrimination and Asian Americans' voting intentions was also not significant (Table 2). This pattern aligns with prior work suggesting that Asian Americans are racially triangulated between White and Black Americans (Craig & Lee, 2022; Kim, 1999; Wang & Santos, 2023; Zou & Cheryan, 2017), and that enduring intergroup boundaries have historically limited coalition-building between Asian and Black communities (Kim, 2000; Kim, 2023; Liu et al., 2023). Accordingly, shared discrimination appeals may be less effective in eliciting solidarity among Asian Americans.

More importantly, we observed significant direct effects of shared discrimination on Black participants' intent to vote for a PoC representative ( $\beta = -.07$ ,  $SE = .04$ ,  $p = .038$ ) and on Latino participants' intent to vote for Harris ( $\beta = -.10$ ,  $SE = .04$ ,  $p = .017$ ). Both patterns are consistent with a suppressor effect (MacKinnon et al., 2000) and parallel evidence from the interminority coalition literature showing that discrimination salience can evoke either solidarity or derogation (Craig & Richeson, 2012, 2014, 2016). Adding solidarity as a predictor of voting intentions partials out the variance in vote choice attributable to solidarity-based responses to shared discrimination, such that the remaining direct effect of shared discrimination likely reflects threat-based reactions elicited by the salience of discrimination.

This interpretation is particularly meaningful in the context of Latino Americans, who turned out for Trump at historically high rates in the 2024 presidential election (Hartig et al., 2025). Our results suggest that some Latino Americans may react negatively to appeals emphasizing shared discrimination with Black and Asian Americans, thereby reducing their intent to vote for Harris. Interestingly, this pattern does not extend to Latino participants' intent to vote for a person of color representative, suggesting that shared discrimination salience may reduce support for individual candidates associated with particular racialized identities more than for the broader principle of descriptive representation.

This distinction likely reflects the complex symbolic meaning of Harris's identity: as both Black and Asian American, she embodies the very groups whose shared discrimination was highlighted in our manipulation. For Latino participants, Harris's intersectional identity may have amplified awareness of interminority boundaries, activating a tension between solidarity and threat. When discrimination salience highlights injustices faced by other marginalized groups, it can inadvertently signal intergroup competition rather than collective struggle. Thus, while Latino Americans may endorse racial representation in principle, shared discrimination appeals that center identities other than their own may dampen support for candidates who visibly embody those groups—revealing how intersectional representation can simultaneously evoke unity and division within interminority coalitions.

### SM.3 – Controlling for Age, Gender, Education & Nativity

To assess the robustness of our results, we re-estimated the partially constrained model while controlling for demographic variables known to influence political behavior (e.g., Fisher, 2014; Potochnick & Stegmaier, 2020; Wong et al., 2011). This model met conventional benchmarks for good fit ( $\chi^2 = 214.28$ ,  $df = 130$ ,  $p < .01$ ;  $RMSEA = .028$ ;  $CFI = .977$ ;  $SRMR = .04$ ), allowing for interpretation of the structural paths.

Results indicated that our main conclusions remained largely unchanged after accounting for age, gender, education, and nativity. Specifically, solidarity continued to be significantly positively associated with vote intentions. Moreover, solidarity remained more strongly associated with intent to vote for Harris among Asian ( $\Delta\beta = -.24$ ,  $SE = .06$ ,  $p < .001$ ) and Latino ( $\Delta\beta = -.23$ ,  $SE = .07$ ,  $p < .001$ ) participants than among Black participants. The indirect association between shared discrimination and vote intentions were also substantively unchanged (see Table 2).

**Table 3**

*Standardized Path Estimates when Controlling for Demographic Covariates*

|                       | Vote for PoC Representative |            |            | Vote for Harris vs. Trump/Other |                         |             |
|-----------------------|-----------------------------|------------|------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------|-------------|
|                       | Black                       | Latino     | Asian      | Black                           | Latino                  | Asian       |
| Shared Discrimination | -.04 (.02)                  | -.04 (.02) | -.03 (.02) | -.05 <sup>#</sup> (.02)         | -.05 <sup>#</sup> (.03) | -.05 (.03)  |
| Solidarity            | .55* (.04)                  | .56* (.04) | .60* (.04) | .24* (.05)                      | .50* (.05)              | .51* (.04)  |
| Age                   | .14* (.04)                  | .17* (.04) | .02 (.04)  | .42* (.04)                      | .07 (.04)               | -.02* (.05) |
| Gender                | .01 (.04)                   | .01 (.04)  | .01 (.04)  | .09* (.04)                      | .07 (.04)               | .07 (.05)   |
| Education             | .04 (.04)                   | .16* (.03) | .02 (.04)  | -.02 (.04)                      | .12* (.04)              | .10* (.05)  |
| Nativity              | .01 (.04)                   | .12* (.04) | .14* (.04) | .01 (.04)                       | -.09* (.04)             | .12* (.05)  |

*Note.* \* $p < .050$ , all tests two-tailed.

**Table 4**

*Standardized Indirect Effects (IE) and Standard Errors (SE) from Treatment to Vote Intentions*

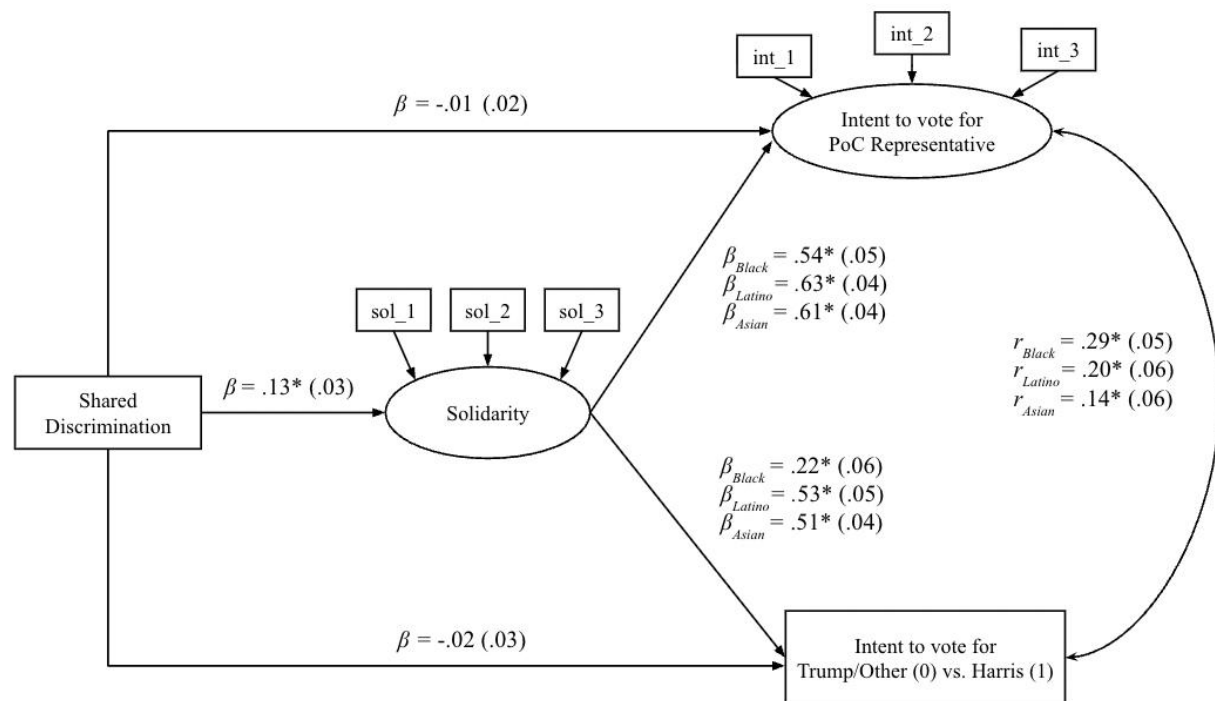
|        | PoC Representative |            |       | Harris vs. Trump/Other |            |       |
|--------|--------------------|------------|-------|------------------------|------------|-------|
|        | IE (SE)            | 95% CI     | $p$   | IE (SE)                | 95% CI     | $p$   |
| Black  | .07 (.02)          | [.05, .11] | <.001 | .03 (.01)              | [.02, .05] | .001  |
| Latino | .08 (.02)          | [.05, .11] | <.001 | .07 (.01)              | [.04, .10] | <.001 |
| Asian  | .07 (.01)          | [.04, .10] | <.001 | .06 (.01)              | [.04, .08] | <.001 |

## SM.4 – Registered Voters Only

To retain maximum statistical power, our primary analyses of voting intentions for Harris versus Trump or another candidate included both participants who are registered to vote and those who are not. However, we re-estimated the model including Black ( $N = 716$ ), Latino ( $N = 672$ ), and Asian ( $N = 669$ ) registered voters only (Figure 2) to test whether the effects uncovered in our paper hold in a sample of participants who can act on their stated intentions. This model also met conventional benchmarks for good fit ( $\chi^2 = 109.64$ ,  $df = 70$ ,  $p = .001$ ; RMSEA = .029; CFI = .985; SRMR = .037), allowing for interpretation of the structural paths. All substantive conclusions remained unchanged.

**Figure 2**

*Standardized Estimates for a Partially Constrained Model among Registered Voters*



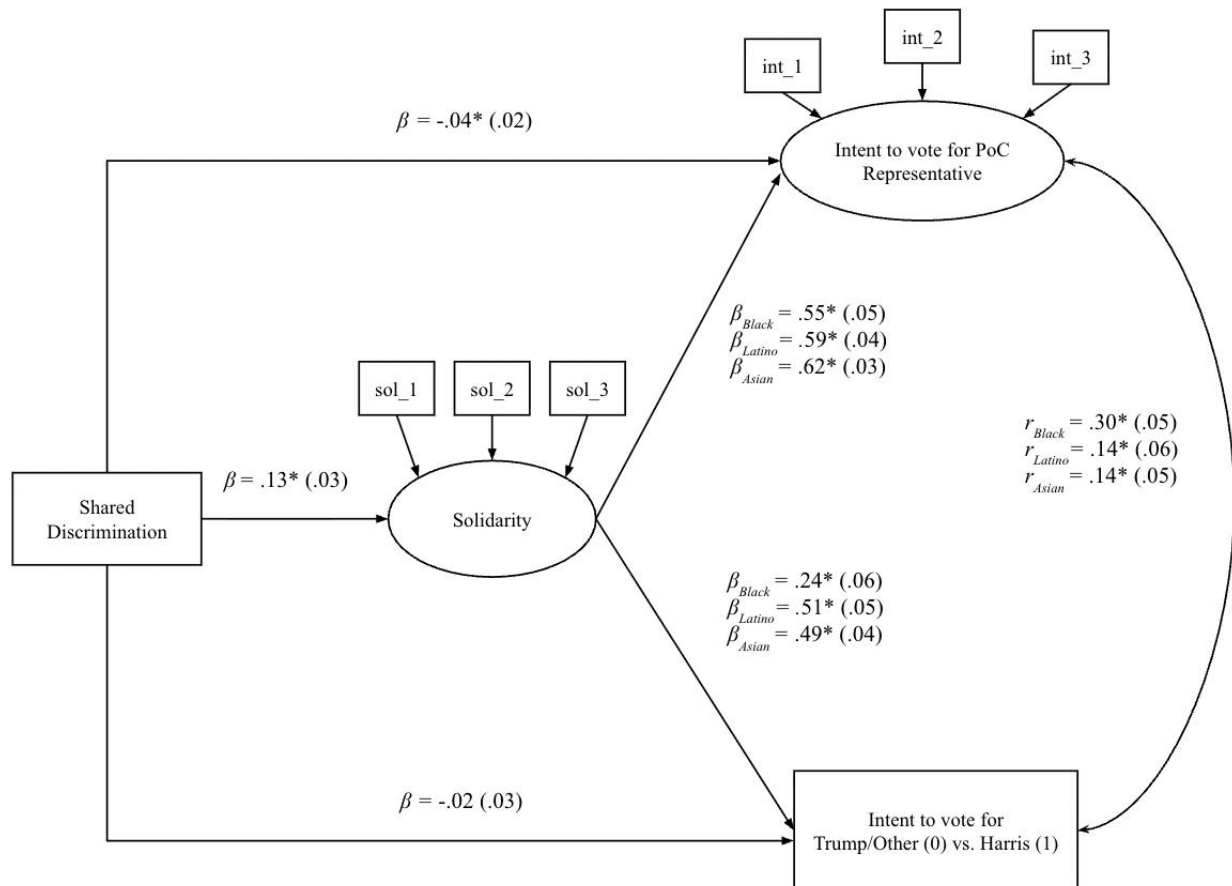
*Note.*  $*p < .050$ , all tests two-tailed.

### SM.5 – Manipulation Check Subsample

After reading their assigned article, participants completed a factual manipulation check (Kane & Barabas, 2019) assessing whether they attended to the treatment content. They responded to a true–false statement matched to their condition: “The information I read highlighted how giant tortoises are in decline” (control) or “The information I read highlighted how [respondent’s race] people are still viewed as outsiders and not fully American” (shared discrimination). We re-estimated the partially constrained SEM model using the subsample of Black (N = 731), Latino (N = 712), and Asian (N = 760) participants who passed this check. The model fit the data well,  $\chi^2 = 97.3$ ,  $df = 70$ ,  $p = .017$ ; RMSEA = .023; CFI = .990; SRMR = .031. Path coefficients were comparable in magnitude to those in the full sample, and all substantive conclusions remained unchanged (Figure 3).

**Figure 3**

*Standardized Estimates for a Partially Constrained Model among Participants who Passed Manipulation Check*



Note.  $*p < .050$ , all tests two-tailed.

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